1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When all the collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother that they are to go and pay at such-and-such a time. A man goes to take the message, generally any man that is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a meal, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner three sows and one boar-pigling, but for a girl [illegible] many pigs must be provided.

[827] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun* and rub the teeth with the cut stalks of the plant *sarapare* to clean them. They rub fresh oil over the [531] strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more oil. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *kewan*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

563 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the 276 people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kobo* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kobo* one string of *imun* and one string of *kewan*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the lard'.

[668] Then those relatives of the girl who will hereafter stand to the men in the relation of *tamai* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kobo* full of areca-nuts to the people that are waiting on the road. As these girl relatives stand up ready to go they [illegible] and [illegible] to begin the [illegible] [illegible] remain in the [illegible] of the girl's mother, they do not go further since the men must not go to the women's house for a short time. They may go to the [illegible] but must come back with the *kobo*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *kewan* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

DISCOVERED 1/76

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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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a still younger child who also chewed it. The practice is usually referred to as 'betel-nut chewing', but, as has been pointed out by Ivens (1927, p. 285), this is actually a transference of the name of the condiment chewed with the nut to the nut itself, which is the seed of the areca-palm (*Areca catechu* and allied species). As usual throughout the Melanesian area, the areca-nut (*bok*) is always used in conjunction with betel-pepper (*ta-nek*) and lime (*iav*), a combination referred to by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* as 'the betel-mixture', a practice which I have followed in this book. The procedure is somewhat different from that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons. It is frequently eaten after a meal, but also at any and every opportunity as desired, much as we smoke cigarettes. The catkin-like fruit, described by Guppy (p. 95) as 'the female spike', of the betel-pepper (*ta-sian*) is much more highly relished than the leaf, which is eaten only when the fruit is scarce, or by those to whom the fruit is taboo, as in the case of a mother with a suckling child. The lime is carried in a specially cleaned-out shell of a young coco-nut (also called *iav*), which is often ornamented with an elaborate incised pattern (*iav a gōm*) emphasized by having lime rubbed over the lines (Pl. 72). The north coast people do not now make these carved specimens, but obtain them by barter from the mountain people. Often, however, they are 'too lazy' to make even a plain one by cleaning a coco-nut, and are content to keep their lime in empty cigarette tins or tobacco tins. No spatula is used, the nut being dipped straight into the lime-pot. I saw no mortars for use by old people, who, if they cannot open the nuts with their hardened gums, will get one of the youngsters to do it for them.

Areca-palms (*boi*) are cultivated, and are regarded as valuable property. There is also a kind of wild palm producing small nuts, which are also eaten, but only if the others are not available.

The betel-pepper (*Piper betel*) is cultivated. There are also wild varieties, of which I know three kinds; they have much smaller leaves and are less in favour. One, called *tʃutʃun*, is chewed especially by old women. All these varieties are parasitic on large trees. If a large quantity is required the stem will be severed near the ground and the whole plant pulled off the tree, but as a rule the fruit and leaves are carefully picked one by one so as not to injure the growing plant.

Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred. Its

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PLATE 49

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BOY WITH PADDLE
[facing P. 365]

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rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49). It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mõ*. In use, the ornamented side is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workmanship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

The Plank Canoe.

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where

this form of craft is known, now.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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put in, the seams are caulked with putty and the canoe is left for several days to allow this to harden. A stick carefully cut to a size that can just be wedged in is put across the inside to prevent warping. This stick is called *tōkon*; it stays in its place until the putty is thoroughly dry (Pl. 50 *b*).

The next procedure is to cut and trim the four wash-boards (*watsínan*). They are carefully measured against the *mon*, and the sides of the *warin* are cut away to fit them, special attention being given to the fit at the points. The *watsínan* are then charred by holding them over the fire, as the other planks had been. A man skilled in cutting the design is then commissioned to decorate them. He first makes an outline by scratching on the blackened side with the point of a knife, then he cuts away the background of the design, exposing the white wood beneath the charred surface, which leaves the black portion uncut standing out clearly (Pl. 52). I have also seen the design burnt on with a pointed stick glowing at the end. Some of the designs are given in Fig. 26 (p. 435). They are sometimes very elaborate, though not so much nowadays as formerly. That at the bow is often more elaborate than that at the stern.

Above the *watsínan* is fixed a short plank (*tariom*), with a slightly upturned end, fitted to the curve of the *lamut*. It is cut square at the other end, and does not reach to the end of the pattern on the *watsínan*. The prow and the stern are finished off with a pointed board (*bibian*) fastened to and running up the length of the *lamut*, but cut away from the top of it at an acute angle, to terminate in a sharp point slightly longer than the end of the *lamut* (Fig. 22). This is made of the wood of the *tsíniv*, the tree used for dug-out canoes. The *tariom* and the *bibian* are painted white by being rubbed over with the seaweed, *mō*. Two coats are put on in the shed, and a third after the *mon* has been for its first trip. *Tariom* and *bibian* are, as a rule, without design, but the *tariom* at the bow may, in a large canoe, carry a simple decoration.

It is said that the people of Lontis first made *mon* without any *bibian*, leaving the *lamut* bare, but a man of the Hahon people said this was not a good way, they should put the *bibian* on to strengthen it. It seems curious that a Hahon man, from the mountain district inland, should be credited with the introduction of this modification, but the same thing was told to me first at Kurtatchi, and again several months later at Tabut, so it would appear to be traditional.

The rib-frames (*mapō*) on which the seats will rest are fashioned

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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out of a solid piece of wood, in one piece. The pattern is always the same, varying only in size (Fig. 23). The seats themselves (*poun*) consist of planks merely laid on the top of the *mapō* without

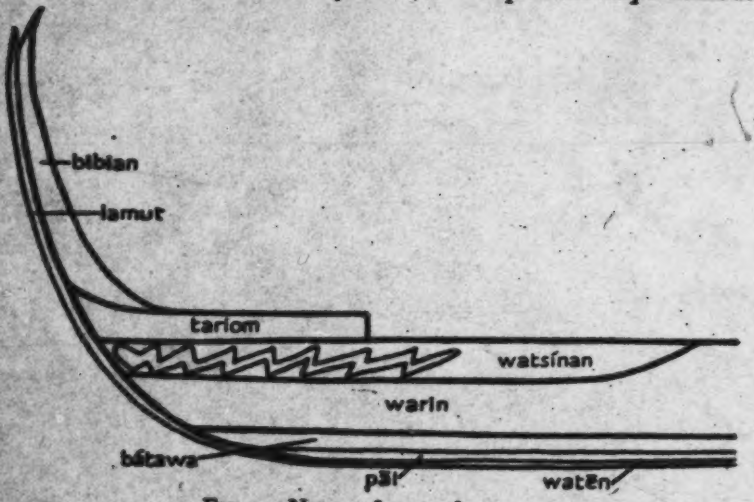

FIG. 22. Names of parts of a *mon*.

FIG. 23. *Mapō*, rib-frame of *mon*.

being fastened, which has the disadvantage that they are continually slipping, and having to be readjusted *en route*, to the great discomfort of the paddlers. At Tabut, while I was there, one man decided, on his own initiative, that it would be an improvement to make the seat in one piece with the *mapō*, and this was done on one canoe as an experiment.

On gala occasions both ends of the *mon* are decorated with streamers of grass, coloured a reddish-purple with a dye made from the roots of *Morinda citrifolia* rubbed on a piece of coral and mixed with lime, and then boiled with the grass it is desired to dye. These streamers (*kinar*) are fixed to the *lamut*.

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PLATE 52

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CARVING *WATSINAN*

[facing p. 378]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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323 beating the clay down on to it, turning the pot round as required (Pl. 59*a*). After every few strokes the beater is dipped into the water, and a tap is given to the stone with the wet beater before the beating is resumed; this has the effect of keeping the stone moistened. The work is done very rapidly. A band which when first applied was about an inch in height and ½ to ¾ of an inch thick, adds, when flattened out, between 2 and 3 inches to the height of the pot, and has a thickness of about an eighth of an inch. It is very flexible, bending under the hand of the woman as she smooths it over after the flattening with the beater is finished. It is then put aside again. Both inside and outside are now perfectly smooth, with no sign whatever of the joins between the layers.

Special care is taken with the last layer, which is to form the rim of the pot. After it has been flattened out, the potter runs round it with first finger inside and thumb outside, pinching off tiny pieces to make it even, and then smoothing the edge with thumb inside and all four fingers extended on the outside. During this process she will stop several times to look at it, and when she has finished she will ask the opinion of those standing by as to whether it is symmetrical. Not till every one has expressed satisfaction does she proceed to the next process, which is to put the ornamentation round the edge. This is done with the fluted edge of a shell (*katsibélo*, a species of *Arca*). The pattern is not intended simply as an ornament. It was carefully explained to me that it also serves as a mark of identification, so that a woman would recognize her pot if any one stole it. There are several designs in general use, differing slightly from each other, but a potter will put the same one on several pots in succession. On the pot I saw being made, a line of diagonal scratches was put on nearest the rim, extending about three inches down the sides of the pot. These were made with the fluted edge of the shell (Pl. 59*b*). Over these lines, about an inch from the rim, a horizontal line of wavy marks was made with one corner of the shell. The edge of the pot was then very lightly fluted by a succession of quick impressions made with the edge of the shell. Frequently, however, the edge is merely pricked, or it may be left smooth.

323 531

323 The pot is then put to dry in the sun. Apparently it does not matter much whether it stays a longer or shorter time in the sun before being fired. The firing is always done just before dusk. A layer of hot ashes is laid down and carefully spread out with a

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PLATE 61

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b. CARRYING POTS HOME FROM MALASANG

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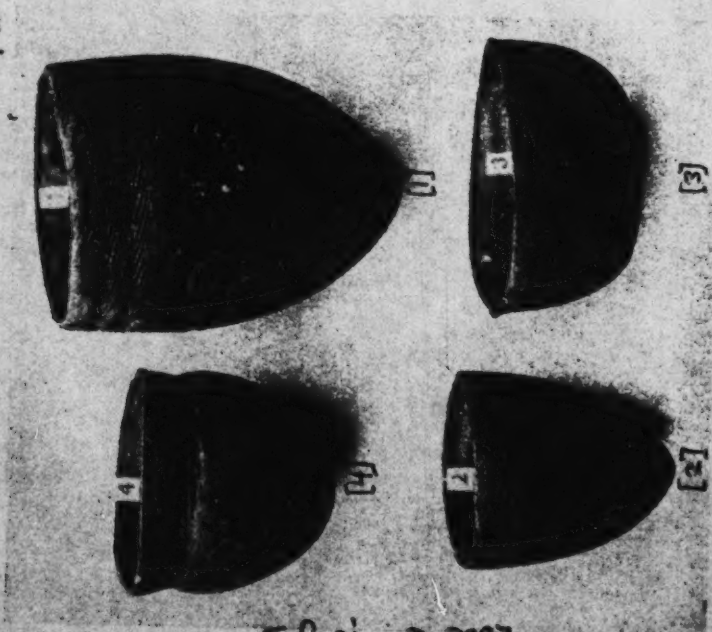

a. TYPES OF POTTERY
1. *Tabeli* 2. *Kalo*
3. *Kepa* 4. Pot from Buin

[facing p 399]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
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294 824 occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

294 386 In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

294 [412] When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread [283 824] is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

294 531 The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62*a*). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

184 436 438 The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

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Mábu (also called *aura*).

Next to the slit-gong, the most highly valued musical instrument is the *mabu*. It is used for dances, both ceremonial and social, in conjunction with the Pan-pipes, as an alternative to the slit-gong; the two are never heard together.

Manufacture. The *mabu* is made of the trunk of a small tree hollowed out. Several trees are suitable, including the kapok (*wakokon*); the wood must be hard enough on the outside to stand wear and tear, and soft enough inside to be picked out easily. A length is cut rather longer than is required for the finished instrument, stripped of its bark, and set up in the ground at an angle convenient for working. The trunk is then hollowed out with an iron pig-spear. Fire is used to assist the process. In the olden days a spear of hardwood was used. The mouthpiece consists of half a coco-nut shell with a hole bored in the top, stuck on with the kernel of the 'putty-nut'.

The outside may be left plain, or may be carved with various traditional designs, similar to those in use on canoes, paddles, &c. (see Fig. 25). The size varies considerably; the largest I saw was almost as tall as the player, while one which was made for me, somewhat smaller than usual, measures $38\frac{3}{4} \times 17$ inches ($98{\cdot}5 \times 43{\cdot}5$ cm.). It was used at dances before being handed over to me, and pronounced to have a good note.

There is no ritual attached to the making of these instruments. Anybody may make them, but as a considerable amount of labour is involved, not many people do. If a large one is wanted for a special dance, it is often borrowed from another village. When the owner of one of these instruments dies, his wife dashes it on the ground and breaks it, wailing as she does so. A man will sometimes break his own *mabu* when his wife dies. The pieces must be burnt, as must those of a *mabu* accidentally broken or worn out by use. On no account must they be thrown away.

Method of use. The *mabu* is blown like a trumpet, with loose lip. It is played only by men or the bigger boys. The player clasps both hands round the instrument near its upper end, sometimes resting the lower end against his knee. He bends his head over the mouthpiece and blows with his mouth close up to it, his cheeks distended (Pl. 64*a*). The sound produced consists of one deep booming note not unlike that of one string of a bass viol.

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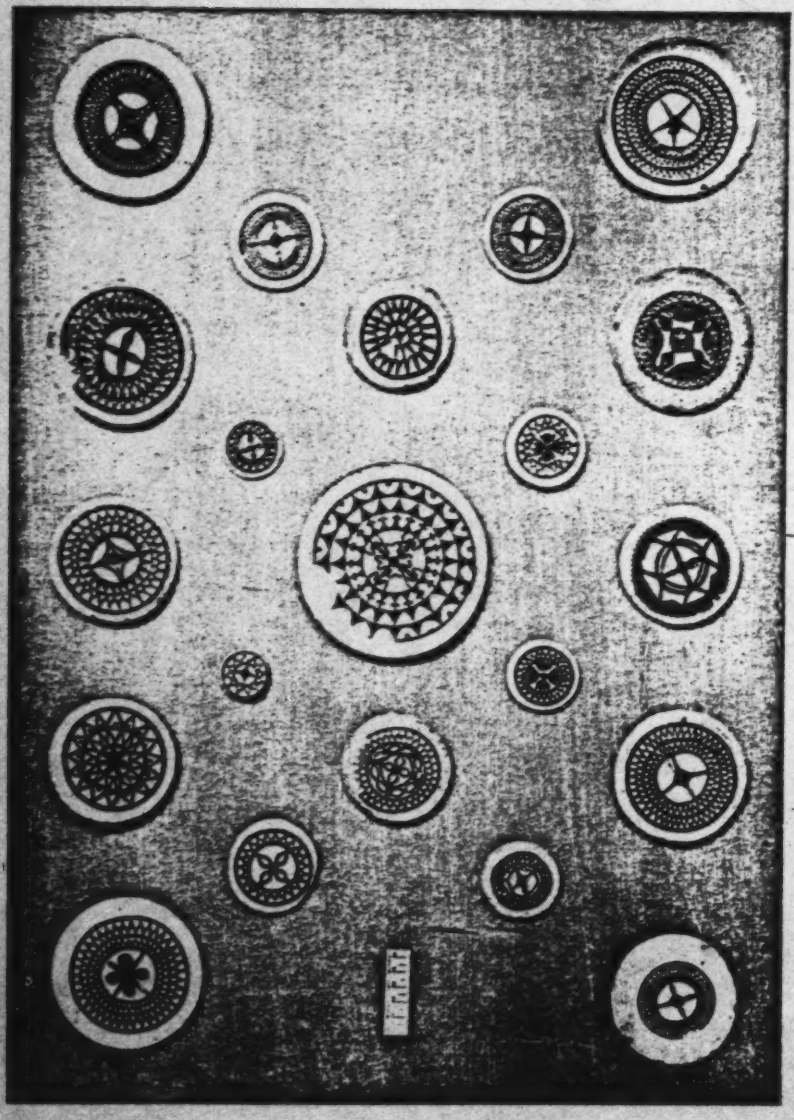
Kurtatchi

PLATE 68



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PIRIR: TORTOISE-SHELL FILIGREE WORK

[facing p. 422]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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304 *wabuin*, pattern on chest of male, person of rank (Pl. 9*a*).
192 *wapukun*, pattern on thighs of women.
'atō, representation of fruit of sago-palm, sometimes cut on thighs of women (I have not seen this).
wapakurin, marks cut along back of arm in both sexes. A series of groups of short cuts, each group going in a different direction.

watitin úrits, lines of short cuts running round back of shoulder on to arm, in both sexes.
wasákip, another word for the above, used by people who stand in a taboo relationship to a man named Watitin and therefore cannot use this word.
waririkin, rows of round weals down the back curving inwards from each armpit or from the shoulder. Women only (Pl. 11*b*).
wagunas, pattern covering chest and abdomen in women, both persons of rank and commoners (Pls. 69, 70).
sisir a kobár, marks representing the trail of the hermit crab, sometimes put on the outside of a woman's thigh, but more often made by men on their arms and chest with a piece of bottle or a knife (Pl. 11*a*).

CHARACTERISTIC DECORATION

531 Many articles of daily use, as well as objects of ceremonial importance, are decorated with various designs, either carved or painted, or, as in the case of paddles, first carved and then picked out with paint. Most of these are traditional. Some can be given a meaning, in other cases the meaning, if any, has been lost, and informants will say that the word used just means that particular pattern.

531 Elaborate designs are found on the young coco-nut shells which
415 are used to contain powdered lime for chewing with the betel-mixture. They are incised with a black-lip oyster shell, and lime is then rubbed into the lines to make them stand out against the dark polished shell. Some of them are shown in Pl. 72. The most important is one involving the human figure (seen on the left of the second row). Lime-pots with such patterns are carried by the novices at one stage of the *watawutf* ceremony, and are so highly

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PLATE 72

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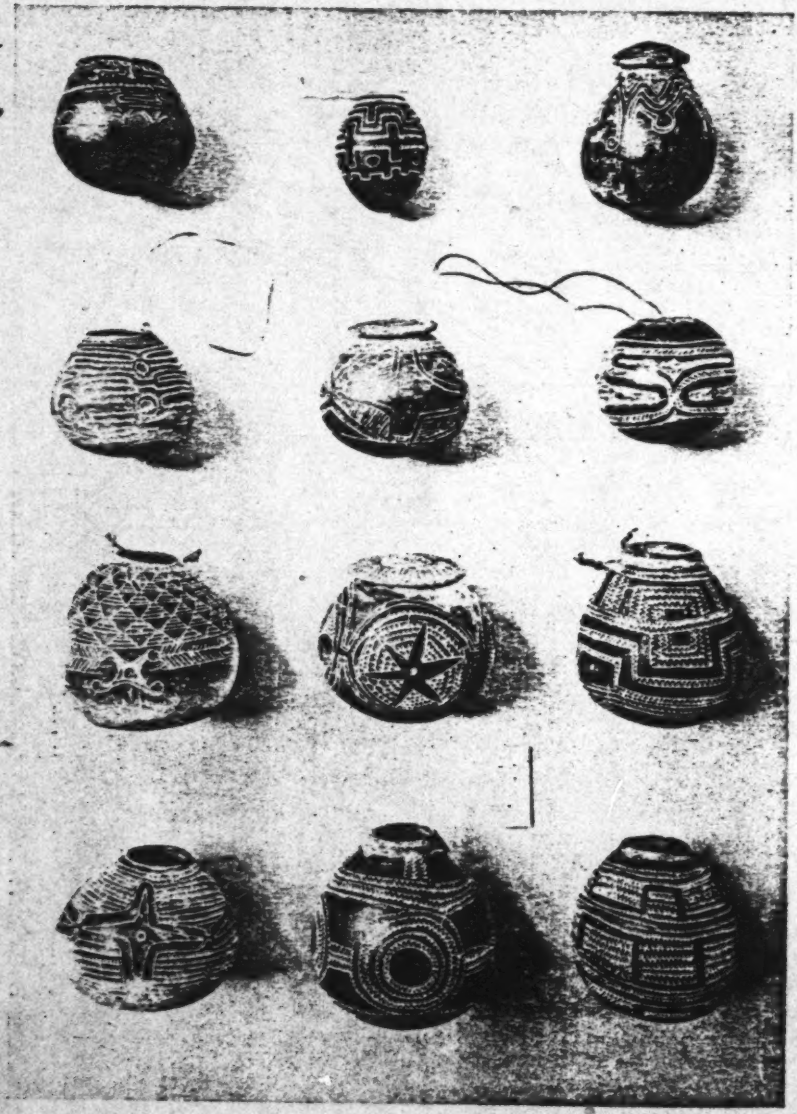

LIME-POTS [facing p. 433]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bēbē*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pakatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

J: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

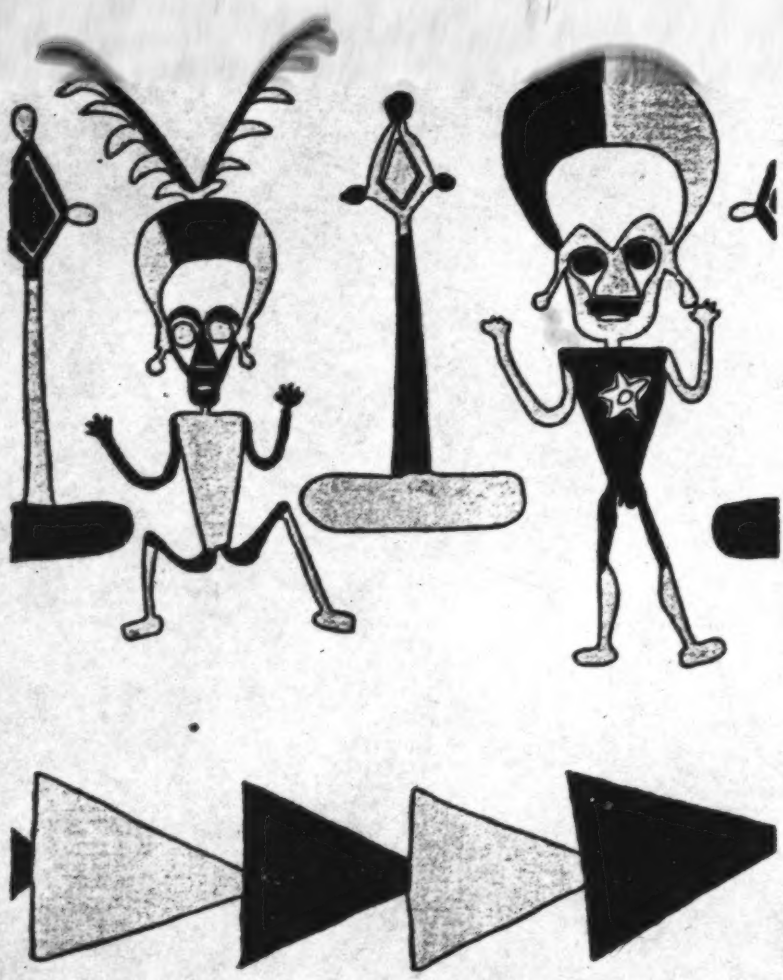

FIG. 25. Patterns on *mabu*. Painted black and red.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kuriatchi

is seen in the photograph of Buka Passage (Pl. 1*a*); it was conveying the local headmen from Buka to meet the Governor of the Mandated Territory on the occasion of his annual visit. In the war canoes the human heads and arms (*kokorra*) were repeated along both sides. I heard of one such, with ten *poan* (seats), still in

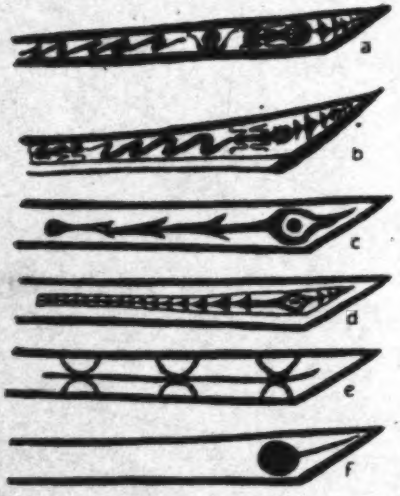

FIG. 26. Patterns on *watsinan* of *mon*.

FIG. 27. Canoe paddle with *kokorra*.

existence at Hanahan, but unfortunately I was not able to see it. On one with seven *poan* which was being built at Lemanmanu on the Lontis coast (Fig. 26*a*), the row of heads along the side was replaced by a kind of key pattern, called *dorē*; they said this was new, and was put on because the makers were 'too lazy' to carve the heads. The anthropomorphic figure was called Morokohēhōn; it was explained to me (in pidgin-English) as 'all same Father call em God'. No further information about it was forthcoming. A similar figure on a *mon* being made at Ruri (Fig. 26*b*) was called *kokorra* and described as a man. The triangular pattern to the right of the figures in both these is called *kalankatʃin*; it is very common. No explanation of the word was given; it is merely the name of the pattern. Fig. 26*c* represents a fish and 26*d* a spear. For *e* and *f* I have no interpretation. *Kokorra* figures frequently appear on paddles (Fig. 27).

I: Blackwood E-S (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Woven designs.

301 The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the
531 mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the
[438] designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5, which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to represent a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

765 A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning
531 belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person
[565] of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (*a*) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (*b*) *taparo*, name of pattern; (*c*) *wuwus*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (*d*) *bas*, the iguana; (*e*) *wirē*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (*f*) *katʃian*, croton leaves; (*g*) *owan a tō*, fruit of the sago palm.

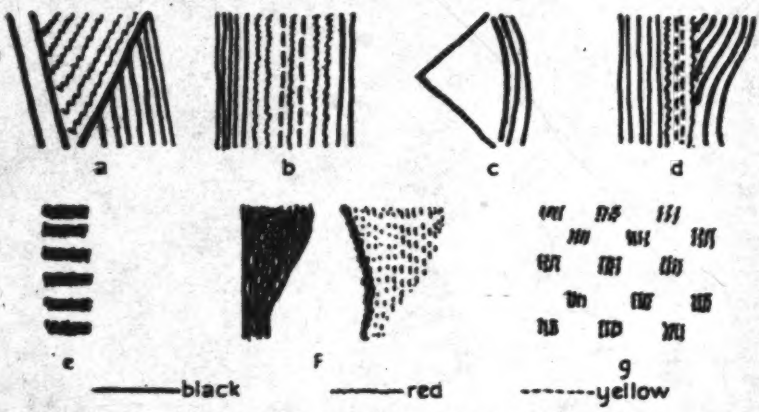

FIG. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

Patterns on pottery.

323 The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks
531 and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61*a*). At Malasang,
[422] where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several owners.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102).

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occasions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to those on the woven arm-bands.

DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers, the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation. Children sometimes use their toes.

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29. Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribblings, which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a baby's first efforts to handle a pencil.

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective. One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house.

FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These

I: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ONō Buka ONō
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324 From Mr. Airey, a planter on the Buka coast, a few miles further
773 north, who takes an interest in native lore, I obtained another story about this stone, which he heard from a Pororan native some years before: The stone was brought on a raft from some place a long way off in the days when the people had not yet learnt how to make canoes. Two women came with it, who were lighter in colour and quite different in looks from the local population. These two women went to live at Pororan, but one of them was always coming over to Yamē to weep at the stone for her people. After a time there arose a quarrel between the people of Yamē and the people of Pororan, and the Yamē people said the woman was not to come over any more. So the Pororan people came at night and took away the stone, but before they landed it a storm arose and capsized the raft, and the stone made its way back to Yamē. The woman still persisted in going over to weep at it, so the Yamē people killed her.

Stone pillar at Iltopan

324 This stone stands half hidden in the bush beside the Government road, rather more than a mile south-east of Iltopan. The name of the piece of ground it stands on is Hahapiri. There is a coco-nut grove—native, not belonging to a white man—there now, but once it was the site of the village. There are no coco-nut trees at the present time on the left-hand side of the road, where the stone is, but there were within the lifetime of one of the old men, Manapulus, to whom the place belongs. When he was a child the stone was standing, but a coco-nut tree fell on it and broke it into three pieces.

324 When I saw it, one piece, 2 feet in height, was still standing. It was firmly embedded in the ground, and seemed to go down for
● 531 some distance. I could not find the end of it, and as my companions were somewhat agitated at my rooting about the base of it, I desisted. The 2 feet that remain above the ground are sloped at a slight angle, probably caused by the weight of the tree that broke it. A second piece, 1½ feet long, lay on the ground beside the standing piece. The top section, with rounded end, 3 feet long, lay with its upper end tilted against the prostrate piece. It was covered with moss and lichens. I was assured that there were no marks on it, but on rubbing it slightly I discovered a pattern incised in low relief, filled in with mud and moss so that it was invisible on inspection. I then cleared it completely, the men

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 77

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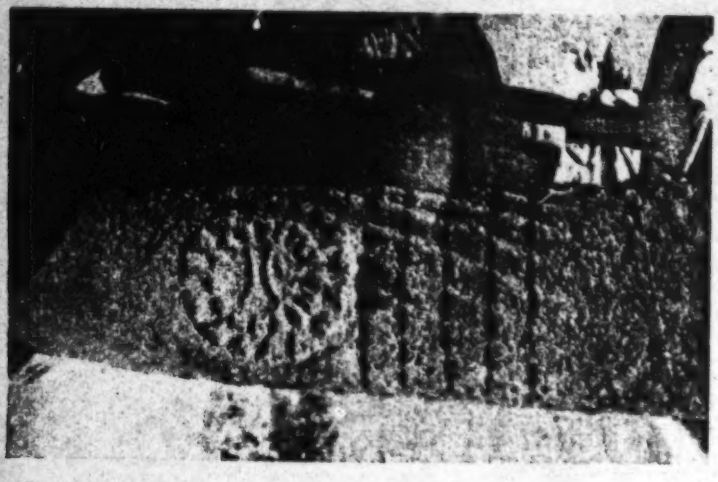
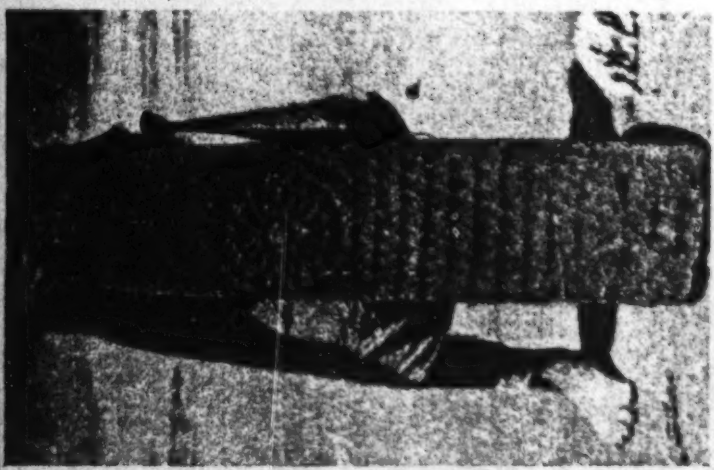
531





UPPER PORTION OF BROKEN STONE PILLAR AT ILTOPAN

[facing A532]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 78

324
531
142

STONE PILLAR AT TOHATCHI

[facing p. 533]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

with me looking on rather dismayed, but much interested, and offering no objection. They call the stone 'A Pi'. *Pi* means a sore, and they think that any one who touches it will have sores break out on his body, hence, it afterwards transpired, their anxiety about my handling it. As soon as I discovered this, I told them that I had destroyed its evil power by cleaning it, and they were then emboldened to lift it out of the thicket of bush which grew round it and put it into a position where I could photograph it and even to hold it upright while I did so. There proved to be a design on both sides of it (Pl. 77 *a*, *b*). This was recognized by the Petats men who were my companions; they said it was called *gōm*, that the two parts of the pattern belonged together, and that in the olden days they used to cut it on their faces. (I think the word *gōm* simply means a design of any kind, not only this particular pattern.) They had no idea it was there. I took a rubbing of it in case the photograph should be a failure, and the Iltopan native who had brought me and my Petats friends to the spot asked me to make another and give it to him to show to his people, which I did. After I had photographed it I made them put it back into its thicket, but they carefully propped it up against the standing portion and left it so that its pattern was visible from the road. They said that now I had cleaned it they would not be afraid of it any more. As we left, the Iltopan native turned to the stone and said: 'Master, I am coming back presently. You and I belong to the same clan.'

Stone pillar at Tohatchi

On the Government road about half a mile north of the village of Tohatchi, on the east coast of Buka, some four or five miles to the south of the stone pillar just described, there is another, which appears to be unbroken. It stands about 6½ feet high, and is not quite circular in section; its longer diameter measures 12 inches and its shorter 9 inches. The name of the piece of ground on which it stands is Didirowan. It is, however, apparently not in its original position, but was set up by the roadside comparatively recently; owing to the fact that these people do not know how to measure time they could give me no idea how long ago, but it was within living memory. They said also that some boys brought it from Lontis (on the north-west corner of Buka) 'when it was a little stone, about so high (measuring a length of about a foot)', and that it used to be inside their houses; they called it their child and played

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

324 776 with it. But one day the spirits who live in the bush came and took it away and hid it in the bush. There it remained till it was found and brought to its present position.

324 552 The name of the stone was given by the local men who showed it to me as Ginagon, but a Tohatchi man at Yamē, who first told me of its existence, called it Ginoput. When I asked the local men about this they said it was all the same. They could give me no explanation of the name.

324 531 The stone is much discoloured, and covered with fungus and lichens, which somewhat mask, without concealing, several incised designs, not as deeply cut or as well executed as those on the stone at Iltopan, and differently arranged, as will be seen from the photograph (Pl. 78). The natives said the marks had been made when the stone was a little stone; then the marks were small too; now that the stone is big the marks have grown with it.

My companions from Petats, who had not seen the stone before, recognized one of the patterns, which they called *kalu*, saying it was one which they used to cut on their foreheads, before they gave up the practice of cicatrization at the wish of the mission. This one was on the side of the stone. When I subsequently showed a drawing of the designs on the stone to the people of Kurtatchi they compared it to their own design called *lalōm*, which they cut on the back of the neck of persons of rank (see Pl. 70 *b*).

As well as these designs, which are evidently of some antiquity, there are many recent scratches. These the people of Tohatchi [804] say they make at the present time, to measure their height, as we used to do on the lintel of the nursery door. One of the men stood beside his mark to show me what they did. They had no feelings of awe or fear in regard to the stone, such as were plainly felt towards that at Iltopan, and it was evidently not credited with any magical power. The most careful investigation during my subsequent visit to Totatchi failed to elicit any more information about it.

Stone pillar at Lonahan

324 Still farther down the coast, and again on the Government road, near the village of Lonahan, just north of Malasang, there is the remains of another pillar (Pl. 79 *b*). It shows signs of mutilation, and there is a tale that a man hacked it with an axe. Also it is much weathered. It appears once to have been a round pillar similar to the others, but now tapers much more sharply to a point than it

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

324 764 natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that [171] Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

324 ●531 304 It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

304 856 832 The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

324 778 The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

in order to acquire a wife. Abducted wives are married only in Buka and north Bougainville, but not in the southern regions of the island; it seems that all prisoners are killed there. 436 583 171

At a normal wedding, as far as I could ascertain, there are no further ceremonies. When the purchase is concluded, the man takes the bought woman home with him, and the wife's relatives give a present consisting of cooked food. After about a week the purchaser and his relatives reciprocate. At special weddings, however, certain festivities take place. In European museums one rather frequently finds objects from Buka and north Bougainville that are commonly called "dance clubs." Some of these are illustrated for example in Edge-Partington, Volume I, pages 244 and 245 (with the incorrect heading: "New Britain Archipelago"); Volume II, page 125 (the note to 3 is based on an error). Furthermore, in Schmeltz and Krause, Catalogue of the Museum of Godeffroy, Plate VI, Figures 3 and 3a. Also the dance club from Treasury Island that is depicted in Guppy's work unquestionably diffused from the north. These dance clubs are correctly named, but they are used only for specific ceremonies. If a chieftain gives his daughter to a native in marriage, great festivities are arranged. The participants fashion clubs of this sort, which are called kaisa and vary greatly according to the taste and the skill of the maker. Most frequently the flat clubs have a broad blade that is painted black, white and red, and are ornamented with the characteristic grotesque human figure or only with its head at the upper end. Other dance clubs are shaped like a lancet, in imitation of war clubs, and have triangular or diamond shaped figures that are painted red, white or black on a black or white background. As a rule they are all made of soft wood that is easy to work, but now and then you find them made out of palm wood or some other heavy hardwood. The wedding guests hold the clubs in their hands; groups of dancers surround the couple, sometimes both, sometimes just one of them, and the clubs are alternately held up in the air or stuck in the ground in a circle around the central figure. After a number of different figures have been executed, they throw away the kaisa, or the boys and youths pick them up and sell them to passing ships for a song. For this reason one can occasionally get hold of hundreds of these dance objects in that region without difficulty, whereas at other times it is impossible to acquire even a single one despite the most tempting offer. 585 585 293 [531] 585

When a woman's husband dies in Buka and north Bougainville, she returns to her parents, if they are still alive, or to her closest relatives; 768

those of normal people, are forbidden territory to other members of the tribe, and only the wives are an exception to this rule. The men have the assembly house as a common meeting place; neighborly visits in our sense of the word are not customary in the Solomon Islands. As a privileged person, I have occasionally been allowed to enter the chieftains' houses. After your eye has become accustomed to the darkness of the room, you notice the women on the raised beds; part of them are busy caring for the children, others sew strips of pandanus leaves together, prepare fish nets, etc. At most, the favorite wife of the chieftain is unoccupied, and a number of the other wives are always present to serve her exclusively. It is often quite amusing to see how this sultana tyrannizes not only her fellow wives, but also her husband and wields over him a strict petticoat regime. Despite the fact that the men seem to pay little attention to their wives outside, they seem to be very obedient within their own four walls.

[19] Clothing and Ornaments

In very few cases can one speak of clothing in our sense of the word. Gay-colored cotton materials used as loin cloths are customary for men as well as for women in many places nowadays, but there are large areas where they are not yet in use. At most belts and aprons hanging down from them come into consideration there.

Belts are worn extensively. They sometimes consist solely of a narrow string fastened firmly around the waist. Young men occasionally use as belts the money strings made of round shell disks and called biruan (see below). The most desired belt (mâvesi in Buka), however, consists of braid work such as I shall describe under bracelets; some of these are ten centimeters wide and are executed in a carefully worked pattern in black, yellow and red. More frequently long strips of red-dyed rattan are worn (tôno in Buka). These strips are 5 to 10 millimeters wide and 2 to 8 meters long, dyed a pretty red, and engraved with rectangular figures and zigzag lines. These strips are placed closely around the waist and often drawn extremely tightly. I noticed this belt especially on young dandies, now and then also on older men, but never on women. Both sexes, on the other hand, occasionally wear a belt of pandanus leaves; the leaves are rolled up and natural-colored strands are woven with black or red dyed strands to form a cord that is

415 171

rare: the empty beer bottles of the Europeans are easily available and fulfill the same purpose.

412

Sharpened mollusk shells and bones were formerly in common use as knives and scrapers, but today they are to be found only in the inland villages. On the coast and on the small islands the knife is now in general use.

415

In north Bougainville and Buka and here and there even in south Bougainville one finds utensils (several in every village) which are used for pulverizing various cooked tubers. The instrument consists of a conical wooden block -- about 1 meter high -- whose point is inserted about 25 centimeters deep into the ground. The outer sides are sometimes decorated [531] with bas relief carvings and painted; the upper rim projects slightly, and at the bottom, about 25 centimeters from the tip, an embossed ring is carved. The inverted base of the cone is 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter. The inner part is hollowed out so that the whole thing resembles a large wooden jug. Cooked taro and yam roots are put into this container and [252] crushed to a thick mush with the stick that is about a meter and a half long; in Buka this instrument is called maromo, and in Shortland tagoro.

Another household utensil that is characteristic for the north consists of a circular board of about 50 to 75 centimeters diameter with a carved embossed rim and two diametrically opposite handles. This plate is used for pulverizing kanari nuts, which are crushed and pulverized on it with a stone pestle. These pestles vary in size and weight; most of them are 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter on the slightly convex pounding surface. The pestle itself is conical, and at the top it ends in a handle with a knob or with a somewhat projecting edge. A few specimens are carefully polished; in my collection there is an especially well-made specimen, which has been polished completely smooth. The lower part of the pestle is circular with a diameter of 9 1/2 centimeters; at a height of 12 1/2 centimeters the sides flare slightly upward; then there follows the 9 centimeter long handle, which is decorated at the top with a conical knob that projects on every side about 1 centimeter. In Buka the wooden plate is called marara and the stone pestle kukono.

412 415

In the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville, after an expedition into mountain villages in the year 1896, a feast was prepared for me upon my return. It does not deserve mention for its culinary accomplishments, but because here I found a number of woven dishes and baskets being used to serve the meal, which otherwise I had seen nowhere in Bougainville. Three characteristic shapes were represented. First, round dishes were used to pile cooked fish on. These dishes had a base of 40 to

415 171

In its entire length this spear measures approximately 340 centimeters, 411
of which about 60 centimeters comprise the ornamented tip. The body
of the spear is made of a hard palm wood and at the thickest point is
about 2 1/2 centimeters in diameter; the end opposite the point tapers
gradually and is about .5 centimeters in diameter at the end. The 411
inland inhabitants call this spear kugu, and the Shortland Islanders, 171
who mediate its export, potulu. The various parts of the point have
their own names. First, the outermost tip -- about 1 1/2 centimeters
long -- is carefully bound with yellow bast. Then there are 6 rows of
barbs, which are arranged in groups of four in such a way that the ones
closest to the extreme tip are the shortest. This last group of the six
rows of barbs is called fruŭ (Shortland: kukuluna). Then there follow
two rows of four barbs each, which are substantially longer than the
barbs of the fruŭ. These two rows are called itina and itina takanne,
and the individual barbs are named masfnke and mămongke; the barbs
of the row towards the tip (masfnke) are about 6 centimeters long and
those of the following row (mămongke) about 8 centimeters. There
now follows a row of four approximately 10 centimeter long barbs,
which are called pûugu (Shortland: kumaisi). Between the four pûugu
there stand four rows, each having five short barbs--about .5 centi-
meters long--called sisfka; they are fastened to the spear shaft by
means of fine bast threads and coated with a white clay found in the
mountains and called moruvassi (Shortland: fioi). This just-described
section comprises the actual tip of the spear. The barbs are made
from the wingbones of the flying dog (Pteropus, "bat"); the outer end
is sharply pointed, and the inner end is sunk into the spear shaft and
fastened here with the pulverized nut of Parinarium laurinum, which
here is called osfso. A brown earth, ugura, and a white earth [386]
moruvassi are used to decorate the shaft as well as the barbs. This
barbed part of the spear is followed by an ornamented section, which 531 ●
dan never be completely missing even if it occasionally is not com- 411
pletely executed. This ornamented section consists of four divisions: 171
first, the last row of barbs is followed by a carefully executed wrapping 284
of the shaft with red and yellow plant fibers of about one millimeter
in width. The yellow ones are called rutta (Shortland: lătili) and the
red ones rakagassi (Shortland: păunăga); they are the external covering
or skin of a type of rush that grows in the interior. By means of various
treatments, it assumes these colors. This woven work forms a row of
alternately red and yellow zigzag lines, which run around the spear

shaft. The weaving itself is called tûû (Shortland: nfnamu). This woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft and represents two human figures. This part is called kägoi (Shortland: käpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the same is true for the knob that follows it: ûiru (Shortland: zimpu putuna). The ûiru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yellow ring is called zigäre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork, but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only one. The carved ornament, kägoi, and the sphere that follows it, ûiru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to explain it fully. According to the information I received kägoi seems to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "it sees the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye," that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong käpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the käpoina or the kägoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

smaller, basketlike, square container is attached above this platform. Both are used for storing all sorts of things: fish, implements, baskets of food, etc. The ornamentation of these boats is not very careful; some have, on the prow as well as the stern, individual geometrical figures painted black and red, others a similarly painted figure of a bird, and still others the grotesque human figure executed in bas relief, which we find so often in the northwestern Solomon Islands and which is characteristic for this region. By far the greatest number of dugouts have no ornamentation at all. They are to be found in Nissan, on the Carteret Islands, in Buka and on the coast of Bougainville--especially in the north and in the east--as well as on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. Recently they have begun making sails of cotton material; yet older islanders assured me repeatedly that this was an innovation that was not known in their youth. In a few places, for example Carola Harbor and the Shortland Islands, I was able to date the first appearance of sails. In the former place sails of cotton material were first introduced in 1890; in the Shortland Islands no one had sails in the year 1885, but in the year 1888 they were quite common. In their cut these sails imitate a European spar boat sail [Spriet-Bootsegel] From this it can probably be concluded that the use of sails is an innovation of most recent times and a simple imitation of European sails.

By far the greatest care is expended on the construction of the large boats built of boards. Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the ones from the southeastern Solomon Islands and the Shortland Islands. The big boats in Nissan, Buka, and northern Bougainville differ slightly in form from those in the Shortland Islands, although the arrangement of the boards is exactly the same as Guppy describes. The individual boards are first split with an ax from the felled trunk and planed as carefully as possible; in order [33] to make the not very hard wood more resistant, they char the sides slightly. First two long boards are attached together and form the bottom of the boat so that the joint follows the keel line. The side boards are likewise attached to these keel planks; three or four rows, and more rarely five, suffice to build up the sides. The prow and stern are constructed high and pointed from two planks which meet at a very acute angle. In the Shortland Islands as a rule they are much longer and almost vertical, and in the north more curved, but everywhere ornamented.

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531 ●
The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a 171
row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees. All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements [776]
of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species of palm.

The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized [824]
nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater 396
resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge. These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and, corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular. The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands, with bow and arrow in hand.

The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propell the 502
boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In 171
the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but other- 501
wise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, 171
pointed, lancet-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure, sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks